

Town Meeting



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Is the United Nations the World's Best Hope for Peace?

Moderator, ORVILLE HITCHCOCK

S p e a k e r s

JOHN COOPER

CHARLES KERSTEN



—COMING—

—March 10, 1953—

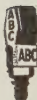
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THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER—Republican of Kentucky. Senator Cooper was born in Somerset, Ky., on August 23, 1901. He graduated from Yale in 1923, attended Harvard Law School for two years and received his LL.D. from Centre College, Ky.

Mr. Cooper was admitted to the Kentucky Bar in 1928 and that same year was elected a member of the Lower House Kentucky Legislature. From 1930-38, he served two terms as County Judge, and he was elected Circuit Judge of Kentucky's 28th Judicial District in 1945.

Senator Cooper is a veteran of World War II, with an outstanding record. In the Normandy, France, Luxembourg and Germany campaigns he served with the Third U. S. Army, and after the war's close, he helped work on reorganization of the German Judicial System in Munich.

In 1949, he was a U. S. Delegate to the 4th regional session of the United Nations General Assembly, and he served as an alternate U. S. Delegate to the 5th and 6th General Assemblies. At the London and Brussels meetings of the NATO Council of Ministers in 1950, he was an adviser to the Secretary of State.

Senator Cooper was elected to the United States Senate at a special election held in 1946 to fill the unexpired term of Albert B. Chandler who resigned; he was re-elected in 1952 to fill the unexpired term of the late Virgil Chapman.

REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES J. KERSTEN—Republican of Wisconsin. A graduate of Marquette University College of Law, Charles J. Kersten was born May 26, 1902. He has been a practicing lawyer in Milwaukee since 1928.

With the exception of the 1948-50 term, Mr. Kersten has been a member of Congress since 1946. In the 80th Congress he served on the House Committee on Education and Labor, and was appointed Chairman of its Sub-

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Is the United Nations the World's Best Hope for Peace?

Announcer:

This week your Town Meeting comes to you from Downers Grove, Illinois, where we are the guests of the Downers Grove Village Forum. More than 900 local residents have filled the high school auditorium to capacity here tonight. It's the kind of audience that proves once again that open discussion is as vital to American life today as it was when this friendly village of 12,000 was founded back in 1832. Yes, Downers Grove is a year older than Chicago, its slightly larger neighbor twenty-five miles to the east.

While obviously Chicago has long since outgrown this village, Downers Grove has more than kept pace in the art of abundant living. In this environment, the Downers Grove Village Forum fulfills a civic trust in bringing outstanding figures from public life to the local platform. It is in this spirit that Town Meeting becomes the guest program of the Forum tonight. Now, to preside as moderator for tonight's discussion, here is Dr. Orville Hitchcock, professor of Speech at the State University of Iowa.

Moderator Hitchcock:

We are happy, very happy, to present tonight's Town Meeting under the auspices of the Village Forum of Downers Grove, Illinois. Today, the seventh United Nations General Assembly resumed its deliberations in New York after a two months' recess. Among the chief items on the agenda are a review of the Korean conflict and more communist sponsored resolutions on world peace. As the spotlight turns again to the UN, we find ourselves in the middle of

a world situation that continues tense and serious. Only a short time ago, Congressmen who had attended a briefing on world conditions by President Eisenhower and his staff described the picture as grim.

"So tonight as the UN resumes its meetings and Mr. Vishinsky begins to unfold the current Russian strategy, you and I wonder once again about peace. How can we achieve real and lasting peace? How can we avoid the periodic world wars which engulf us? How can we resolve the tensions and conflicts which today leave us in a situation that can be described at best as grim. Some people say that our best hope is in the United Nations; others feel that the answer lies partly, maybe even largely, in other directions. This is the important question that we are facing tonight: Is The United Nations the World's Best Hope for Peace?

We are most fortunate in our speakers: Senator John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, and former delegate on the American Mission to the United Nations, and Representative Charles J. Kersten, Republican of Wisconsin, member of the House Education and Labor Committee. Let me present first, for his answer to tonight's question, Senator John Sherman Cooper.

Senator Cooper:

Dr. Hitchcock, ladies and gentlemen. I am very glad to be here in Downers Grove this evening and appear at this Town Meeting with Dr. Hitchcock, the Moderator, and with Congressman Kersten. I think the subject: Is the United Nations the World's Best Hope for

Peace? is a very appropriate one today on this first day of The General Assembly of the United Nations. I know it is a matter of deep concern to all the people of the United States and their concern about the Korean War. It touches our deepest hopes for peace. My position tonight is that the United Nations is the world's best hope for peace. •

Looking at it first from the immediate problem of the settlement of the Korean War, and, then second, from the long-term problem of minimizing the causes of war in the future. I know this is a very controversial subject. I think perhaps we have approached it emotionally from time to time. Internationalists have been too enthusiastic about the United Nations. Isolationists who do not like any form of international co-operation have opposed it. There are many who favored its purposes who honestly believe that it does not possess the structure or the organization to make it effective.

Others, as I understand my good friend, Congressman Kersten, believe it is incapable of reaching its purposes as long as Russia is a member. And then I know that many of our people have been moved emotionally and frustrated by a long impasse between Russia and what we term the free world, and also by an anger against our allies and by the Korean War. And yet I return to my affirmation, because I believe that everyone of these things which have worried us would have occurred even if there had been no United Nations.

There would have been a war in Korea, I think. There would have been the tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States and the Western World. There would have been the hunger, the urge for freedom and self-

government throughout the world, which create tensions which might have brought war. And we would not have had the ameliorating influence of the United Nations. And so I say that we face a long period of these tensions and that this organization, with its ability to hold together resources and to create an opinion which is needed, presents us our only organization and our best organization in the long term for peace. (*Applause*)

Dr. Hitchcock: Thank you, Senator Cooper. Now let's turn to Representative Charles J. Kersten, Republican of Wisconsin, and ask him: Is the United Nations the World's Best Hope for Peace? Mr. Kersten is author of the Kersten Amendment to the Mutual Security Law, which is the basis of the Soviet charge in the UN against the United States.

Representative Kersten:

Distinguished colleague, it is indeed a great pleasure to be here and participate on this most important subject with a distinguished member of the United States Senate, Senator Cooper of Kentucky. My position is that the United Nations as presently constituted is not the world's best hope for peace. Several basic changes must be made before it can be an effective organization to promote world peace; and among these basic changes is that the Soviet regime should be expelled from the United Nations. The present United Nations has actually brought us closer to all-out war with the 800 millions of people under communist control; it has helped to divide us from these peoples; it has increased the prestige of the Soviet regime.

Every little act of Vishinsky and Gromyko is dramatized. It has strengthened its hold, the hold of the communist conspiracy, upon the

peoples of Russia and the peoples of the captive nations like Poland. It has given Stalin a free hand to bring about the economic integration of the captive nations, and it is very possible that if Russia had not been thus strengthened by world prestige it would not have initiated the Korean War. And if it had, the policy of the United Nations, as it has been carried out up to this time, would have contrasted with the policy that the United States by itself would have used in that Korean War.

Now the principles of the United Nations are: first to maintain international peace, to develop friendly relations among the nations, to achieve international co-operation and respect for human rights. Article six of the United Nations Charter provides that a member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the Charter may be expelled. We need only to refer to the fact that the Soviet Union has exercised over 50 vetoes; it has violated treaties and obligations upward of 91 times.

And I say that, for example, if a hospital, that contained a clique of doctors who were intent on killing everybody they could lay their hands on, could not operate; if a parent-teacher association, that had within it a group that actually was a gang of kidnapers, could not successfully operate; if a court, one of whose members with a power of veto over the other members was determined to break every law rather than to uphold the law, could not operate—if those are simple, obvious facts, I say that a world organization dedicated to peace cannot carry on when imbedded within it is a conspiracy dedicated to war and to conquer

the world by subversion and aggression. (*Applause*)

Dr. Hitchcock: Thank you, Mr. Kersten. That telephone ringing in the background was not someone calling up to object to something you said, Mr. Kersten, but I think the telephone company is checking the line to see if we were going out all right over the air—or maybe it was a wrong number. Gentlemen, I wonder if you would join me around the microphone for some 10 or 12 minutes of round-table discussion. Let's see if we can get into some of the issues that you have raised in your opening statements. Senator Cooper, we haven't heard from you for a while. What comment do you have on what Representative Kersten just said about Russia and the UN?

Senator Cooper: Well, I would agree immediately that Russia has violated the charter, violated it in many ways: its failure to observe its promises in the charter; failure to observe its treaties; and the most recent and obvious violation, the giving of aid to communist China and its aggression in Korea—its violation of the resolutions that were passed by the Security Council of the General Assembly. But I go back to the point I made in the opening, that everything that it has done it would have done if there had been no United Nations.

The real problem that is before us is whether, under these existing circumstances, in the face of Russian aid to aggression, it is better to have the United Nations or not to have it. And I make the point that we would not have any United Nations if Russia were out of that organization. Now you ask me why. In the first place, you cannot expel Russia, because it

can veto that resolution. To get Russia out of the United Nations means that the United States must withdraw. That is a real problem, shall we withdraw from the United Nations? I could develop it and I want to, but I know I cannot take all the time.

Dr. Hitchcock: Thank you, Senator. Some people have seriously proposed that the United States should withdraw, and I think there has been a bill, hasn't there, Representative Kersten, in Congress? What's your reaction to that?

Representative Kersten: Well, there are a very large number of bills in both the Senate and the House to change the structure of the organization, and among them are bills and resolutions to expel the Soviet Union from the United Nations. While it is true that many hold that Russia could exercise the veto over such a move to expel her, which is really an expulsion of the communist conspiracy, I believe that good common sense dictates that where an organization dedicated to the peace provides for the expulsion of a member that violates all of its principles, I think that that can be enforced by nations that are willing to stand up for right and justice.

We have developed other ways and means of dealing with the situation. We have developed a NATO organization. There was the Vandenberg Resolution that was the basis for that, and I would just like to ask this question. With the Soviet Union presently in the United Nations, I would like to point out this fact among other similar facts, Mr. Constantine Zinchenko is a member, for example, of the Department of the Security Council Affairs. Before that Council comes up all vital information,

including documentation of all military matters pertaining to the Korean War.

In other words, Zinchenko has access to that vital information. Isn't it silly, therefore, that the Soviet Union should be permitted to remain in, and hereby get information which is helpful to the Chinese Communists, which helps to defeat the forces of the UN? *(Applause)*

Dr. Hitchcock: Senator Cooper, do you want to answer that?

Senator Cooper: I think we must look at our situation and see what we are trying to do. In the first place we know that this is a long-term struggle against a system which is obdurate, which will not stop, which will not quit. And we know that to finally win we must hold together those who believe in the same kind of ideas that we believe in. Now, when Russia is in the United Nations, at least these things can be seen and can be noted. It gives first, the chance to other peoples of the world, at least their representatives and also the press, to see the Russians. They must constantly expose their system before the world. They must expose their propaganda which becomes inconsistent before the representatives of the world and before the press.

It is the best chance for the world to see the Russians. It gives them also the chance to understand our ideas and the ideas of a free world, and I do not agree with Congressman Kersten that Russia strengthens itself in this process at our expense. I believe that our ideas are as provocative, as valid, and will be received as well as those of Russia. And I think that in the long run to gain popular opinion, we have this chance in the United Nations.

Dr. Hitchcock: Mr. Kersten, do you agree with those advantages in having Russia in?

Congressman Kersten: No. I think we still disagree as sharply as we did before. Just imagine, for example, a situation if it were applied to a body like our own United States Supreme Court. If we had, in the membership of that body, one or two members who were long-confirmed criminals with a record of murder and riot and furthermore with a power of veto over the other members, then that body, the United States Supreme Court, could be nothing more than a mere debating society. It certainly could do nothing to foster peace among the states.

Ways and means must be developed to expel such an individual before it can become an effective body, and I think the United Nations is in exactly the same position. Here is an organization dedicated to war and conquest, and 35 years of history have proven that, proof is mounted upon proof, and we can never get anywhere in an international organization until such an individual, or such individuals, are taken out of it.

Senator Cooper: I want to emphasize again that what my good friend, Congressman Kersten, is really proposing is to break up, to abolish, the UN. Now all of the countries of the world are not as happily situated as the United States, and many of them are much closer to Russia than we are. They do not have our resources or our military strength. The United Nations gives them a vehicle. It gives them the strength by which they can go to their peoples and hold to our position. If there were no United Nations, in their proximity to Russia, exposed to its propaganda, it is very possible

that they would be more likely to fall upon her side. And I reiterate this is a long-term struggle and not just a struggle of this year or next year.

Dr. Hitchcock: Mr. Kersten, will forcing Russia out of the UN cause the UN to break up? That seems to be one of our points of discussion here tonight.

Congressman Kersten: Well, I think definitely not. I think keeping Russia in the United Nations has prevented, up to this time, any effective international organization of nations that are willing to abide by common ideas of justice. I think we have been stymied up to this time from carrying on any effective international organization, and I would like to ask Senator Cooper if he believes, for example, that the Russian people, that the Polish people, or any of the peoples. (recording not clear).

Senator Cooper: There are not many points of contact with the Soviet Union or with the satellites. I would not doubt that the Soviet Union would like to see the satellites out of the United Nations. Their representatives come there; it is one point of contact, and the fact that many of those representatives have gone back to their countries, as in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and have later been purged, gives some evidence that perhaps the ideas that they received there had their influence. Again, the United Nations offers some hope to the peoples of those countries. It is a point to which they can apply.

Representative Kersten: Just in final comment, I think the situation is pretty well disclosed by the fact that, of the 377 American employees in the American Secretariat in the UN, recent revelations have shown that a very large percentage,

over a third of them, are very possibly disloyal, and that extends to the 4300 people employed by the United Nations. This is an indication, a barometer, of the ineffectiveness of the UN structure as it presently is constituted to deal with the communist conspiracy which constitutes the real danger of war.

Dr. Hitchcock: Thank you, gentlemen. We here at Town Hall want to thank everybody who sent in questions on tonight's topic. It was extremely difficult choosing the most pertinent and appropriate from the many we received. This week, Mr. Ernest E. Means, Apartment W-11, Old Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, will receive the 20 volume set of the American People's Encyclopedia. Mr. Means' question: "Can present-day world problems best be solved by the secret negotiations of traditional diplomacy or by the public negotiations of the United Nations?" Would you gentlemen like to grapple with that question for a bit? Mr. Kersten, do you have a point of view?

Representative Kersten: Yes, I have a point of view on that question. That question would indicate that there are only two alternatives to deal with international problems, either by way of secret pacts, or agreements, like the Yalta Agreement, or the United Nations. I say that there are other ways, and there is another very definite way, in which international problems with which the United States is concerned, involving treaties, may be handled. That type of problem should be dealt with by the United States Senate, a body of which my distinguished colleague is a member, on the floor, on the open floor, of the Senate, and discussed fully and openly so

that it is known by the American people under constitutional means. This is a far better way to deal with an international treaty involving the United States than by either secret pact or by the unrealistic debating society of the United Nations.

Dr. Hitchcock: Thank you, Mr. Kersten. Now, Senator Cooper, how would you answer the question?

Senator Cooper: I think it is well to remember that there are many ways of carrying on negotiations with other countries. The United Nations is not the sole instrument. There are the ordinary diplomatic means and methods. I think though that each fills its place. There are matters which are too secret and which should be handled by ordinary diplomatic negotiations, between two nations, or maybe two or three nations. But I point out that in order to carry on that kind of negotiations it takes preparation. They are instances, or single instances, and they are usually bilateral or at most trilateral, and here in the United Nations day after day without any necessity for extended preparations or negotiations, you can start the process of agreement and negotiation between nations and particularly in the place where we need it most, with Russia. And that is one place where we can make contact.

I'll answer the matter of the debating society because that is one of the great criticisms of the United Nations. I want to say that is one of the greatest attributes of the United Nations—that it is a debating society. Because there there is formed a world judgment and opinion, which is one of the greatest instruments we have for peace, and maybe the only in

strument through which we can eventually reach any kind of an accord with the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

Dr. Hitchcock: Something that the Senator said brought Representative Kersten to his feet, and he wants to ask a little question here.

Representative Kersten: May I ask you, Senator, with regard to any agreement that might be discussed in the United Nations with the communist regimes, would you, or would any responsible agency of our government, rely upon any agreement that was made with the communists in the United Nations?

Senator Cooper: I have had some experience there with them and I know how they violate their simplest words. I could give examples of the simplest things, where one day they would make an agreement on a small matter, and the next day deny that they

had even discussed it, but yet there are exceptions. There's Iran, in the early days they did remove their troops. There is the Berlin blockade. There were, first, diplomatic negotiations, but actually in the General Assembly of the United Nations the talks between American representatives and Soviet representatives took place which led to the lifting of the blockade. I say that it does offer a daily forum and daily possibility.

Dr. Hitchcock: Thank you, gentlemen, and thank you, Mr. Means, for your question. Now we are ready to take questions from our audience here at Downers Grove, and I wish you could see the two lines of questioners we have backed up behind our microphones eager to ask questions of our speakers. The lines extend from the stage way back to the end of the auditorium, through the doors, and, for all I know, on the way to Chicago. We have a lot of questions and we'd like to get on to them.

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QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Questioner: Senator Cooper, what chance has Russia of splitting the United States and Great Britain in the UN Assembly?

Senator Cooper: I think you have entered into this debate and on my side, because your question points out the necessity of having an organization which can help hold people of free ideas together. Now, one of the great aims of Russia of course is to split the allies, and, in particular, to split the United States and Great Britain. I do not believe that they will split. There are controversies in the Far East, but the beliefs and the positions of the

United States and Great Britain are too much together in their own interests and in their own political beliefs, to bring about a split. That is my own opinion.

Questioner: Representative Kersten, do you think that if Russia was banned from the United Nations there would be a greater chance for world peace?

Representative Kersten: I certainly do. I think that's the whole point of my position in this argument. I think with Russia in the United Nations she can continue to foster the global forces of war, she can continue to stymie the efforts of international organiza-

tion for peace. If the criminal is effectively expelled from a peace organization, that organization of peaceful nations can more successfully work toward peace.

Questioner: Senator Cooper, how can the UN be the best solution for peace if several member nations refuse to give active support in Korea?

Senator Cooper: Korea has offered the greatest test to the UN and has also brought forth the greatest criticism of the UN. I think to answer your question we must start with some agreement, or perhaps we can't start with an agreement, but we might start with an assumption. It is my position that if there had been no UN there would have been an aggression against Korea, and if there had been no UN the United States, because of its own self-interest, would have been forced to take the action that it did take.

As unsatisfactory as the response of the other members of the UN has been to helping the United States, yet if there had been no UN, in my view, there would have been no help. France would have said, our interest is Indo-China; Britain would have said, our interest is Burma, and we would have been standing alone in Korea without any military help or without any help in supplies, and again, what is most important in the long run, without any great world opinion on our side. I think that Korea, while unsatisfactory, has still proved the value of the United Nations.

I would not want to leave a misunderstanding or a misapprehension about what I have just said. I believe that the greatest failure of the United Nations thus far has not been any procedural matter, but in the failure of the will of

the members as expressed—in the failure to give the full help that was needed.

And yet I recur to what I said a few minutes ago, if there had not been any UN I think we would still be in the same position; we'd have had to intervene in Korea and we would have had no help. If we are to win there it will take military measures; it will take economic measures; but it will take also this opinion and support of other nations to cause Russia and communist China to adjust their own views, and that again is where the UN is available.

Representative Kersten: I think the last point that the Senator touched upon is so important that it deserves this comment. Actually I think the UN made the Korean invasion more probable. In the UN we formalize and recognize the conquests of the countries of Eastern Europe, we recognize their delegates, and treat them as though they are legal governments—this in the face of their obvious aggression, the obvious aggression of the Soviets. In other words, we abandon principle in Eastern Europe to a certain extent, so that the Soviets are entitled to conclude that we won't care too much about principle in Korea.

In other words, we're fighting aggression in Korea; we're admitting an acquiescence in aggression in Eastern Europe. I think in addition to that if we had fought the war in the traditional way, the traditional American way, even if they had invaded Southern Korea as they did, we would have been much more likely to have concluded victoriously the Korean invasion than under the UN direction.

Questioner: Representative Kersten, isn't there a great possibility

that we would have been in World War Three by this time had it not been for the United Nations?

Representative Kersten: I think that the theory upon which the United Nations started out under the aegis of people like Alger Hiss, who was the principal adviser at the United Nations Assembly in San Francisco and the principal adviser to the American delegation at the first Assembly, I think we started off in the path of dividing the world into two parts—into the part controlled by the Soviets and the rest of the world. And if we continue on that course, we're going right down the path to an all-out World War Three. I think we must depart from that course and attempt to some way reach these people to avoid this clash, and it cannot be done under the present UN structure.

Questioner: Senator Cooper, if the UN is the best hope for world peace, how long must we keep up our production of arms and be the arsenal of democracy?

Senator Cooper: I think we have to face the facts as they are. The truth of the matter is that the United States is the most powerful nation in the world. We say so; we are. In that position, we not only enjoy great rights but we have certain responsibilities. And it is just an actual fact, that with Russia as the great aggressor in the world, there can't be any peace in the world unless our own country is strong. And that means, of course, that we've got to give the greatest support to our allies, that we provide the greatest support among allies, that because of our very strength and power we give the greatest support to the United Nations.

The real question though is, do

we want to do all that alone, and go it alone, or do we want to draw to us such support, such aid, as these other countries can furnish us, inadequate as it may be?

Questioner: Representative Kersten, isn't there a vast difference in the meaning of peace to Russia and the United States?

Representative Kersten: There certainly is a vast difference. That, I think, is a very important question, because by peace the communists mean peace to be accomplished only by the overthrowing of the capitalist world. It is their basic thesis that as long as the capitalist, or non-communist, world continues to exist then we will have cause for war. So they call their policy a peace policy, and they mean by that policy to overthrow every other portion of the world that is not communist. But in the very process they are developing universal war.

Dr. Hitchcock: Thank you. Senator Cooper wants to comment on that question.

Senator Cooper: I like that question very much because I think that their idea of peace is submission to coercion and our idea of peace is entirely different. It's to have absence of war but yet at the same time to maintain our own free institutions and it requires some sacrifices. I think also that throughout the years we've been the great evangelists. We've held out to the world that we're the great examples of freedom and that we want it for the entire world and yet today some of our people withdraw from that position. I think again that we do have that responsibility to help bring that same kind of peace throughout the world.

Questioner: Mr. Kersten, do you think that the so-called UN Dec-

laration of Human Rights could furnish a lasting basis for genuine peace?

Representative Kersten: Well, I think that again is a very important question because it's an example of an attempt on the part of this world organization to supplant our own basic Bill of Rights and I think that the United States Congress should take definite steps to avoid any such thing. We have in our own Bill of Rights, in our own Constitution, a concept of basic, inalienable rights, and the concept developed by the United Nations doesn't compare with it in value. I think we have a much better Bill of Rights and we don't have to have any from the United Nations.

Questioner: Senator Cooper, this is a question regarding mechanics. We all recall that the Korean action was started by the Security Council in the absence of Russia. How can the Security Council be effective in curbing aggression when the veto power of one member can nullify its suggested action? That's assuming all in attendance.

Senator Cooper: The Security Council cannot. I would like to say, though, that the veto power was agreed to by the United States and I don't think today the United States would be in favor of abrogating it because we would not consent to being pushed into a war against our will. But I admit this point, that today the functions of the Security Council have actually been taken over by the General Assembly, because, without forces, the only power that either has today is to recommend and so it finally comes down to the will of the member nations to carry out the recommendations.

Questioner: Representative Kersten, do you feel that eventually the United Nations Charter might supersede the United States Constitution?

Representative Kersten: I certainly do not. I think the people of the United States overwhelmingly would reject such a situation. I think the United States Constitution must remain supreme in this land. The United Nations or any international organization should function only in the international sphere as a body to help alleviate the causes of war.

Questioner: Senator Cooper, would the UN be more powerful and efficient if the veto could be overridden by a two-thirds majority?

Senator Cooper: As far as I'm concerned, I like it as it is, with the veto power, because it protects the United States as much as it gives advantage to Russia. In answer to the question that was just asked me a few minutes ago, I make the point that in the General Assembly today 60 nations, or at least 54, were not among the Russian group. They can make the same recommendations the Security Council made, with a much wider representation, and it comes down finally to the question whether the members have the will to carry out the recommendations; so I don't think we need the suggestion which you offered.

Questioner: Representative Kersten, are the so-called police actions, such as Korea, apt to continue to be the only positive, concerted actions of the United Nations as long as Russia exercises the veto?

Representative Kersten: Well I would think that would be true and that shows the unreal situation. In other words we are in

volved in a real war and whenever the United States has been involved in a war it has been our tradition to fight to win.

Dr. Hitchcock: Thank you, Senator Cooper and Representative Kersten, for your very interesting discussion of tonight's topic. We

want to express our appreciation to the President of the Downers Grove Village Forum, Phillip J. Larson, and to the Publicity Chairman, Fred H. Ebersold. Thanks also to John Horton, Jr., and his associates at station WENR, the ABC affiliate for Downers Grove.



FOR FURTHER STUDY OF THIS WEEK'S TOPIC

Background Questions

1. Has the United Nations functioned as a peace-preserving institution?
2. Has the U. N. been an effective security organization?
 - a. Does its effectiveness as a security agency depend upon its ability to enforce its own decisions?
 - b. Has its enforcement power been altered by lack of an international police force? What are the prospects of developing such a police force within the foreseeable future?
 - c. How has the U. N.'s failure to provide for international control of atomic energy and general disarmament affected its security potential?
 - d. Evaluate the effect of the U. N.'s action in Korea. Could such immediate action have been taken had the Soviet Union been participating in the deliberations of the Security Council?
3. Has the U. N. provided an effective world forum for the discussion and resolution of political doubts and differences?
 - a. To what extent has the U. N. provided a psychological sounding board allowing nations to compete for world opinion? Which nation has most successfully utilized the U. N. for this purpose?
 - b. Should the U. N. discuss conflicts that it is incapable of solving?
 - c. Do such discussions clarify the issues and enhance its prestige? Or, do they antagonize people and blind them to services the U. N. can perform?
4. Has the U. N. been successful in dealing with non-political matters? Or, are differences of opinion and approach to economic and social problems too great?
 - a. Is the contention that the Economic and Social Council has taken actions that are detrimental to the interests of the United States correct?
 - b. Some Americans claim that the Covenant of Human Rights drawn up by the Human Rights Commission has sacrificed traditional American freedoms. Do you agree?
 - c. Can any Bill of Rights acceptable to both the United States and the Soviet Union be meaningful in terms of practical application?
 - d. Should the Technical Assistance Program be administered exclusively by the U. N.?

Have the specialized agencies of the U. N. been operating in a manner to promote peace?

- a. What are the practical accomplishments of agencies such as WHO, FAO, UNESCO, etc.?
- b. Can UNESCO cope with the problem of relieving international tensions when the Soviet Union and its satellites are not members and do not cooperate in its efforts?
- c. Is it true that UNESCO is attempting to supplant national loyalty with loyalty to a world organization? If so, is this desirable?
6. Must the United Nations be used constantly in order to make it a success?
7. To what extent should any nation regard the U. N. as an instrument of its foreign policy?
8. Did the U. S. ever consider the U. N. as the "cornerstone of its foreign policy"? Does it do so today?
9. Is there any security for the U. S. in the U. N. Security Council since the breakdown of big-power cooperation?
 - a. Can the U. S. let important measures affecting its basic security be blocked by a Soviet veto or filibuster?
 - b. Should U. S. foreign policy be circumscribed by the ability of the U. N. to implement it?
10. Do the Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, North Atlantic Treaty and Pacific defense treaties, constitute violations of the U. N. Charter?
11. Are these measures necessary for the preservation of the security of the nations involved? Are they legitimately defensive measures?
12. Could the benefits derived from these measures have been guaranteed by the U. N.?
13. How far has the U. S. obligated itself in ratifying the U. N. Charter?
 - a. Is there any justification for the fear that U. N. covenants and conventions approved by the Senate in the form of treaties are superseding American laws and endangering the basic constitutional rights of our citizens?
 - b. If yes, should the proposal to make treaties subordinate to the constitution and the laws of the U. S. be adopted?
14. Is the contention that the U. N. was designed and set up by Russian representatives and Alger Hiss, representing the State Dept., correct?
15. Is it true that the U. N. provides a center for espionage and that the Secretariat has been captured by Communists and their sympathizers?
16. Should Congress continue its investigation of American personnel in the U. N. Secretariat begun by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security?
17. To what extent can and should the U. S. utilize the U. N. in its efforts to combat Soviet imperialism?
 - a. Can the U. S. hope to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and its satellites through the U. N.?
 - b. Should the U. N. be reorganized in order to make it a more effective instrument for combating Soviet aggression?
 - c. Or, is the fact that the U. N. provides the United States and the Soviet Union with a common meeting ground and forum, its greatest contribution to world security?

BEHIND THE CRIER'S BELL

When Orville J. Hitchcock, heard on this week's broadcast from Downers Grove, first appeared as guest moderator in 1945, he was acquiring, at the same time, a more than casual knowledge of the Town Hall idea. This came while serving for a year on Town Hall's executive staff, during which time Dr. Hitchcock familiarized himself with behind-the-scenes planning of "America's Town Meeting" as well as the Town Hall program of lectures, courses and concert events. One thing he found out and remembered—a program like "Town Meeting" doesn't just happen, it's worked for by the producers, the speakers, and members of the listening audience.

A graduate of Pennsylvania State College, Orville Hitchcock holds his Ph.D. degree from the University of Iowa. He has taught public speaking and discussion at the American University, Washington, D. C., the University of Akron, Akron, Ohio, and currently is at the State University of Iowa in Iowa City.

In 1943 and 1944, Dr. Hitchcock served as Information Specialist in the Office of War Information and as an Adult Education Specialist for the Office of Price Administration's Educational Services Branch. Moving over to the Committee for Economic Development, he became their Adult Education Director in October, 1944.

Dr. Hitchcock was a member of the Town Hall executive staff from May, 1945, to August, 1946, after which he joined the faculty of the State University of Iowa. During the last eight years he has moderated "Town Meeting" from time to time, and nowadays is often heard in originations from the Middle West.

Asked how "Town Meeting" looks from the moderator's chair, Dr. Hitchcock said the "pre-meeting" was perhaps the most difficult part to handle. That's the 45-minute period before the broadcast when both the speakers and the audience present get warmed up about the issues under discussion. Only when both sides are fully prepared to thrash out a topic is a real democratic process invoked. Then it's time to go on the air.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

(Continued from page 2)

committee to investigate the infiltration of communism in labor organizations. He also has taken particular interest in foreign affairs, and in all measures designed to combat communism, nationally and internationally. He actively supported the Economic Cooperation program, and helped to eliminate discrimination in the Displaced Persons Act. He urged an export embargo on strategic materials to the USSR and its satellites and, prior to the introduction of the Vandenberg Resolution, he introduced his own resolution pledging American help to free governments resisting aggressions.

In the fall of 1947, Mr. Kersten visited Germany. He is an advocate of strengthening Germany as an integral part of the European defense program and fought against the dismantling of German factories.

In the 82nd Congress, Mr. Kersten introduced resolutions calling for the withdrawal of diplomatic relations with the USSR and its satellites, and sponsored an amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1951, providing for a program whereby escapees from behind the Iron Curtain could be utilized as elements of the North Atlantic Army.



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